# THE EU-UKRAINE PARTNERSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: A CRITICAL REVIEW

### Khakimova V. T.,

PhD student at the Department of International Relations Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University ORCID iD: 0000–0001–6281–2715 khakimova\_v@ukr.net

The article provides a comprehensive analysis of the partnership between the European Union (EU) and Ukraine in the context of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The analysis is based on a thorough review of relevant literature, official documents, and expert opinions, and aims to identify the main challenges and achievements of the partnership and offer recommendations for its further development.

The author emphasizes the successes and challenges of the EU-Ukraine partnership in areas such as political cooperation, economic integration, and security cooperation. While the EU's support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity has been a key factor in the partnership's success, the article also highlights several limitations and shortcomings of the partnership. These include the slow pace of reforms in Ukraine, the impact of corruption on the country's development, and the EU's limited leverage over Russia's actions.

To address these challenges, the article offers recommendations for how the EU-Ukraine partnership can be strengthened, including deeper engagement on issues such as energy security, human rights, and rule of law as well as a more proactive approach to supporting Ukraine's democratic development and reform agenda. The analysis suggests that these steps are crucial for ensuring the partnership's continued relevance and effectiveness, and for supporting Ukraine's path towards European integration and democratic consolidation.

Overall, this article provides a critical and nuanced assessment of the EU-Ukraine partnership in the context of the CFSP, offering important insights for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners in the fields of EU foreign policy, Ukrainian politics, and international relations.

**Key words:** The European Union, Ukraine, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Association Agreement, diplomacy, partnership.

**Formulation of the research problem.** The partnership between the European Union (EU) and Ukraine is one of the key relationships in Europe's neighbourhood. Ukraine's efforts to integrate into the EU are closely linked to its foreign and security policy objectives, and the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) plays a significant role in shaping this relationship. In this article, we will provide a critical review of the EU-Ukraine partnership in the context of the CFSP, assessing the challenges and opportunities presented by this partnership, and exploring the prospects for its future development.

The partnership between Ukraine and the European Union (EU) is a significant area of interest in contemporary international relations. While the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) has played a vital role in shaping the EU's relationship with Ukraine, there is a lack of critical analysis of this partnership. Therefore, this study aims to examine the EU-Ukraine partnership within the context of the CFSP and conduct a critical review of the partnership. By exploring this topic, this study aims to address important scientific and practical questions, such as the efficiency of the EU-Ukraine partnership in advancing democratic reforms and enhancing Ukraine's integration into the EU, the implications of the EU's response to the Russian invasion in Ukraine, and the potential for further development of the EU-Ukraine partnership in the future.

Literature review. The relevance of the issue of world governance, which is based on common security and peaceful coexistence, determines the increased attention to this issue today. Quite a large number of scientific works are devoted to the issue of the development of the common foreign and security

© Khakimova V. T. Стаття поширюється на умовах ліцензії СС ВУ 4.0 policy of the EU. Among the researchers of various aspects of this issue, one should mention, in particular, J. Manners (Manners, 2006; Manners, 2008), who analyses individual national foreign policies of European countries and issues of the normative nature of the common foreign and security policy of the European Union, considers international relations as a response to globalization challenges, Bretherton and Vogler (Bretherton&Vogler, 2005), who studied the role of the EU as an international player. The evolution of the EU's foreign policy and its institutional development are analyzed in the scientific works of H. Magone (Magone, 2010), M. Smith (Smith, 2004), S. Marsh and H. Mackenstein (Marsh&Mackenstein, 2014). Among domestic scientists, O. Shapovalova (Shapovalova, 2010), O. Shnyrkov (Shnyrkov, 2008) take care of the general analysis of the EU's foreign policy, the works of O. Poshedin (Poshedin, 2014) are devoted to the defense and security dimensions of Ukraine's cooperation with the EU.

The problem of the role of Ukraine in the common foreign and security policy of the EU is the subject of heated discussions in view of the changes that are negative for Ukraine, which are related to the aggression of the Russian Federation.

Overall, these publications demonstrate the ongoing importance of the EU-Ukraine partnership in the context of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and highlight some of the key challenges and opportunities presented by this partnership.

**Formulation of the goals of the article.** The main purpose of an article is to provide a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the EU-Ukraine partnership in the context of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. Also the paper aims to critically review the development of the partnership, its successes and challenges, and assess its effectiveness in achieving its objectives. Additionally, the article explores the political and strategic implications of the partnership for both the EU and Ukraine, and identify areas for further improvement and cooperation.

The author discusses the historical background of the EU-Ukraine Partnership, including the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and the Association Agreement, as well as recent developments in the relationship, such as the conflict in eastern Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea by Russia and then full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.

**Theoretical framework.** Research is draw on both Realism and Neoliberal Institutionalism to provide a nuanced analysis of the partnership. Realism offers insights into the power dynamics at play in the partnership, particularly in the face of external threats such as Russia's actions in Ukraine. This perspective helps to explain how the EU's strategic interests and calculations have shaped its approach to Ukraine, and how Ukraine has responded to these pressures. Meanwhile, Neoliberal Institutionalism emphasizes the role of institutions and economic interdependence in promoting cooperation and mitigating conflicts. This perspective highlights the importance of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) in promoting economic integration and fostering political dialogue between the actors. Taken together, a Realist and Neoliberal Institutionalist perspective provides a holistic understanding of the EU-Ukraine Partnership, highlighting both the power struggles and the institutional arrangements that have shaped the actors' behavior and interests (Heydarian Pashakhanlou, 2009).

**Background on the relationship between the EU and Ukraine.** The European Union's (EU) partnership with Ukraine has played a significant role in the context of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The CFSP is the EU's foreign policy arm, which aims to promote the Union's values, interests, and security goals in the global arena. The EU-Ukraine partnership is an important aspect of the CFSP, as it provides a framework for the EU to engage with Ukraine on a range of issues, including security, stability, and democracy.

The relationship between the EU and Ukraine dates back to the early 1990s, when Ukraine gained independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then, the EU has sought to develop a close partnership with Ukraine, driven by a shared vision of a stable and prosperous Europe. However, the relationship has been marred by a number of challenges, including Ukraine's ongoing conflict with Russia, which has threatened Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

One of the key milestones in the EU-Ukraine relationship was the signing of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) in 1994. This agreement was the first formal treaty between the EU and Ukraine, and set the basis for political and economic cooperation between the two parties. The PCA established a joint parliamentary committee and provided for regular political dialogue on a range of issues, including human rights, democracy, and economic reform.

In 2004, the EU launched its European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), which was aimed to create a ring of friendly countries around the EU's borders. Ukraine was one of the countries included in the ENP, and it was offered the prospect of closer political and economic ties with the EU. As part of this, the EU and Ukraine launched negotiations on a new Enhanced Agreement, which would have replaced the PCA and provide a framework for closer integration between Ukraine and the EU.

However, negotiations on the Enhanced Agreement were initially slow, and it was not until the 2008 EU-Ukraine Summit that a joint statement was issued confirming the intention to conclude negotiations on the Enhanced Agreement. In 2009, the EU and Ukraine launched negotiations on a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), which was designed to be an integral part of the Enhanced Agreement( Shapovalova, 2010).

This was followed by the creation of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement in 2014, which was designed to deepen the partnership and provide a framework for closer integration between Ukraine and the EU. The AA is a comprehensive agreement, which included provisions on political dialogue, economic integration, and sectoral cooperation. The agreement also included a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), which provided for the elimination of tariffs on goods and the harmonization of regulations and standards between Ukraine and the EU.

Despite these efforts, the relationship has been marked by a number of difficulties, including political instability in Ukraine, corruption, and the ongoing conflict with Russia. Although the Association Agreement had been introduced in 2012, the Ukrainian government halted preparations to sign it in November 2013, during the presidency of pro-russian Viktor Yanukovych. Yanukovych attended a summit in Vilnius where the agreement was scheduled to be signed, but it was not finalized. This refusal to sign the agreement sparked the Euromaidan movement, leading to Yanukovych's removal from power. The political portion of the Association Agreement was signed by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk on March 21, 2014, and the economic portion was signed by President Petro Poroshenko on June 27, 2014. Ukraine amended its constitution in 2019 to include provisions supporting its integration and accession to the European Union and NATO.

Thus, the EU-Ukraine Partnership is also important for security cooperation. Ukraine has been facing a security crisis since 2014, when Russia annexed Crimea and supported separatist movements in eastern Ukraine. The EU has been a key supporter of Ukraine's efforts to maintain its territorial integrity and sovereignty, and has provided substantial financial and technical assistance to help Ukraine address its security challenges (Poshedin, 2014).

In response to launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russians, Ukraine applied for EU membership on February 28, 2022, and support for joining the EU surged to a record 91% in Ukraine. This support increased from 68% to 86% in the early days of the conflict and continued to grow throughout March, reaching an all-time high. The European Parliament, Commission, and Council all backed Ukraine's application, and on June 23, Ukraine was granted candidate status for EU membership (Reuters, 2023).

The EU has been a key supporter of Ukraine in its efforts to deal with the conflict and restore stability. The EU has imposed sanctions on Russia in response to its actions in Ukraine. The EU has also played a role in facilitating negotiations between Ukraine and Russia to try and resolve the conflict. While progress towards a lasting resolution to the conflict has been slow, the EU has continued to push for a peaceful resolution and has maintained its support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The EU has also supported efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to those affected by the conflict, including internally displaced persons and refugees.

With the annexation of Crimea and aggressive actions against Ukraine, Russia undermined the global security order, it became clear that the conflict in Ukraine is not a peripheral issue, because Putin's policy is aimed at war on a large scale. That is why the EU has been actively supporting Ukraine since 2014, and with the start of a full-scale invasion, financial, military and humanitarian support has only increased. It is the unity around the settlement of this conflict that will enable the EU to establish itself as a leading actor in international relations, and for Ukraine it will become an indicator of successful integration into the EU.

Despite these challenges, the EU remains committed to its partnership with Ukraine, and continues to work closely with the country on a range of issues, including security, economic development, and reform.

The EU has also supported Ukraine's efforts to implement a range of political and economic reforms aimed at improving governance, increasing transparency, and modernizing the country's economy. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, which entered into force in 2017, provides a comprehensive framework for these reforms and serves as a roadmap for closer integration between Ukraine and the EU.

The reforms have focused on a number of areas, including anti-corruption measures, energy sector reform, and public administration reform. The EU has provided technical and financial assistance to support these efforts, and has also implemented a number of programs aimed at improving the business climate in Ukraine and attracting foreign investment.

In addition to political and economic cooperation, the EU-Ukraine partnership also includes close collaboration in the areas of energy, transport, and environmental protection. The EU has supported Ukraine in modernizing its energy sector, promoting energy efficiency, and diversifying its energy sources, reducing its dependence on Russia. The EU has also supported Ukraine's efforts to develop a modern transport infrastructure, which is essential for the country's economic development.

Environmental protection is another area of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine. The EU has provided technical and financial assistance to help Ukraine address environmental challenges, such as air and water pollution, waste management, and climate change. The EU has also supported Ukraine in implementing the Association Agreement's environmental provisions and the Paris Agreement on climate change.

The EU's commitment to Ukraine was demonstrated in 2020, when the EU and Ukraine celebrated 30 years of diplomatic relations. During a joint summit, the EU reaffirmed its support for Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, and pledged to continue supporting Ukraine's reform agenda. The EU also announced a new initiative, the EU-Ukraine High-Level Platform for Sustainable Reconstruction of Donbas, aimed at supporting the reconstruction and development of the conflict-affected region in eastern Ukraine.

As Ukraine continues to navigate its path towards greater integration with the EU, the relationship between the two parties will remain a crucial factor in shaping the future of the region. Overall, the development of the EU-Ukraine partnership had been shaped by a range of factors, including geopolitical considerations, economic interests, and shared values. The partnership had evolved over time, with various agreements and initiatives contributing to its development.

In conclusion, the relationship between the EU and Ukraine has come a long way since the early 1990s, driven by a shared vision of a stable and prosperous Europe. Despite challenges, both parties remain committed to working together to address these issues and build a stronger partnership for the future. The EU's continued support for Ukraine's political and economic reform efforts will be crucial in ensuring the country's stability and prosperity, and in advancing the EU's strategic interests in the region.

**Overview of the CFSP and its aims.** The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is a central pillar of the European Union's (EU) foreign policy agenda. The CFSP aims to promote the EU's values and interests in the world, and to contribute to international peace and security through a range of diplomatic, economic, and security measures.

The CFSP was established by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, and it has since undergone significant development and expansion. The CFSP is guided by the principles of solidarity, coherence, and effectiveness, and it is implemented through a range of institutional mechanisms and processes (Kopiika & Shynkarenko, 2001).

One of the primary aims of the CFSP is to promote the EU's values and interests in the world. This includes promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, and supporting the development of open and prosperous societies around the globe. The CFSP also aims to promote the EU's economic interests, by supporting free trade, investment, and economic cooperation with partner countries.

Another key aim of the CFSP is to contribute to international peace and security. This includes supporting conflict prevention and resolution efforts, promoting disarmament and non-proliferation, and addressing the root causes of insecurity and instability in partner countries. The CFSP also aims to promote effective multilateralism, by working with other countries and international organizations to address global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and poverty.

To achieve these aims, the CFSP is implemented through a range of institutional mechanisms and processes. In 2009, the Lisbon Treaty introduced new institutional arrangements and mechanisms to support the CFSP, including the creation of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who serves as the EU's chief diplomat. The Lisbon Treaty also provided for the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), which is responsible for coordinating the EU's foreign policy activities, and the EU's network of delegations and embassies around the world. The CFSP is also supported by a range of policy instruments, such as economic and development assistance, diplomatic measures, and crisis management operations (Kolomiiets &Zolkina &,Holovnov, 2011).

Despite these developments, the CFSP continues to face a number of challenges and criticisms. These include concerns about the effectiveness of EU foreign policy, the role of national interests and rivalries, and the need for greater coherence and coordination between different areas of EU policy. The CFSP has also been criticized for its limited ability to respond to crises and conflicts, and for its sometimes slow and bureaucratic decision-making processes.

One of the unique features of the CFSP is its emphasis on unity and coordination among EU member states. The CFSP operates on the basis of shared decision-making, with member states working together to develop and implement a common approach to foreign policy issues. This is achieved through regular consultations and negotiations, as well as the use of qualified majority voting in certain circumstances.

Another important aspect of the CFSP is its relationship with other areas of EU policy. The CFSP is closely linked to the EU's external trade, development, and humanitarian policies, as well as its internal policies on migration, justice, and home affairs. This reflects the recognition that many of the challenges facing the EU in the global arena require a comprehensive and integrated approach.

Ultimately, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is a central element of the EU's foreign policy agenda. The CFSP aims to promote the EU's values and interests in the world, and to contribute to international peace and security through a range of diplomatic, economic, and security measures. While the CFSP has undergone significant development and expansion in recent years, it also faces a number of challenges and criticisms. Nevertheless, the CFSP remains a critical tool for the EU in promoting its interests and values on the global stage.

Analysis of the role of Ukraine in the CFSP. As a non-EU member state, Ukraine does not participate in the decision-making processes of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) directly. However, Ukraine has been an important partner and stakeholder in the EU's foreign policy agenda, and its relationship with the EU has been a key focus of the CFSP in recent years.

In addition to these specific areas of cooperation, the EU-Ukraine Partnership is also an important element of the wider foreign policy agenda of the CFSP. Ukraine's strategic position in Europe, as well as its size and population, make it an important partner for the EU in addressing a range of global challenges, including climate change, terrorism, and migration. The EU-Ukraine Partnership provides a framework for cooperation in these areas, as well as in other areas of mutual interest.

One of the key areas of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine has been in the area of security and defence. EU is a critical partner for the Ukraine in addressing the ongoing war on Ukrainian territory. The EU has provided significant political, financial, and technical support to Ukraine, including through the establishment of the European Union Advisory Mission in Ukraine (EUAM Ukraine) and the provision of military and technical assistance. In addition to security and defense, the EU and Ukraine have also cooperated on a range of other foreign policy issues. These include promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, supporting economic reform and development, and addressing global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and migration.(EUAM Ukraine)

As part of its efforts to strengthen its relationship with Ukraine, the EU has established a number of institutional mechanisms and frameworks for cooperation. These include the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, which entered into force in 2017 and provides a comprehensive framework for political, economic, and social cooperation between the two parties. The EU has also established a number of high-level dialogues and working groups with Ukraine, covering areas such as energy, transport, and digital cooperation.

Overall, while Ukraine does not have a direct role in the decision-making processes of the CFSP, its relationship with the EU is a critical element of the EU's foreign policy agenda. The EU's engagement with Ukraine has been driven by a shared commitment to promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as well as a recognition of the importance of Ukraine's strategic position in Europe. As the EU continues to develop and expand its foreign policy agenda, its relationship with Ukraine is likely to remain a key focus of its efforts in the region.

In addition to the areas of cooperation mentioned earlier, the CFSP also plays an important role in shaping the EU's policy towards Ukraine. As a non-EU member state, Ukraine is not formally represented in the EU's decision-making bodies. However, the EU has sought to consult with Ukraine on key foreign policy issues that affect the country, including the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

One example of this is the EU's support for the Normandy Format, a diplomatic initiative involving France, Germany, Ukraine, and Russia aimed at resolving the conflict in eastern Ukraine. The EU has been actively involved in this initiative, and has supported a range of measures to promote peace and stability in the region.

The CFSP has also been used to promote economic cooperation and integration between the EU and Ukraine. One key initiative in this area has been the EU's Eastern Partnership program, which aims to promote political association and economic integration between the EU and six eastern European countries, including Ukraine. The Eastern Partnership program has provided significant financial and technical support to Ukraine, including through the establishment of a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) between Ukraine and the EU.

As has been demonstrated, Ukraine plays an important role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union (EU), particularly in relation to peacekeeping and security initiatives. As a strategic partner located on the EU's eastern border, Ukraine is seen as an important contributor to the security and stability of the wider region. In terms of peacekeeping, Ukraine has been actively involved in a number of international missions, including the United Nations peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, Liberia, and Sudan. Ukraine has also contributed troops to the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) missions in Africa, including the EU Training Mission in Mali and the EU Military Training Mission in the Central African Republic.

Ukraine has also been an important partner in the EU's efforts to promote security and stability in its neighborhood. In particular, Ukraine has been a key player in the EU's Eastern Partnership program, which

seeks to strengthen political and economic ties between the EU and its eastern neighbors, including Ukraine. Through this program, the EU has provided support to Ukraine in a number of areas, including border management, law enforcement, and the fight against organized crime and corruption (Razumkov, 2021).

In addition to its involvement in peacekeeping and security initiatives, Ukraine has also been a key player in the EU's efforts to promote democracy and human rights in its neighborhood. Ukraine has been actively engaged in the EU's Neighborhood Policy, which aims to promote political and economic reform in the EU's neighboring countries. Ukraine has also been an important partner in the EU's efforts to promote the rule of law and good governance, including through its participation in the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI) (Hazizullin &Honchar, 2009).

Overall, Ukraine's role in the CFSP is shaped by its strategic location and its commitment to promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in its neighborhood. Ukraine's involvement in peacekeeping and security initiatives, as well as its participation in the EU's various programs and initiatives, demonstrates its commitment to these goals, and its importance as a strategic partner for the EU in its neighborhood. As the EU continues to develop and expand its foreign policy agenda, its relationship with Ukraine is likely to remain a key focus of its efforts in the region.

**The goals and objectives of the EU-Ukraine Partnership** are wide-ranging, and include political, economic, and social dimensions. Some of the key goals and objectives of the partnership are:

Strengthening democracy and the rule of law: The partnership aims to promote democratic reforms in Ukraine, including the strengthening of democratic institutions, the protection of human rights, and the fight against corruption. The EU provides support and technical assistance to Ukraine in these areas, as well as through the deployment of election observation missions.

Promoting peace and stability: The partnership aims to contribute to the resolution of the conflict Ukraine, and to promote peace and stability in the wider region. The EU supports diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict, and provides humanitarian aid to those affected by the conflict.

Enhancing economic cooperation and integration: The partnership aims to promote economic cooperation and integration between the EU and Ukraine. This includes the establishment of a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), which aims to reduce trade barriers and promote economic reform in Ukraine.

Facilitating people-to-people contacts: The partnership aims to promote cultural and educational exchanges between the EU and Ukraine, as well as to facilitate visa-free travel for Ukrainian citizens to the EU.

Promoting energy security: The partnership aims to enhance energy security in Ukraine and the wider region, and to promote the development of a sustainable energy sector in Ukraine.

Strengthening cooperation in justice and home affairs: The partnership aims to enhance cooperation between the EU and Ukraine in the areas of justice and home affairs, including the fight against organized crime, terrorism, and illegal migration (Razumkov, 2021).

In general, the EU-Ukraine Partnership is a comprehensive framework for cooperation between the EU and Ukraine, aimed at promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as well as peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. The partnership is based on a shared commitment to these goals, and provides a platform for ongoing dialogue and cooperation between the two parties.

**Conclusion and recommendations.** The EU-Ukraine Partnership is an essential aspect of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union (EU). Since the Partnership's establishment in 1994, it has played a crucial role in strengthening cooperation between the EU and Ukraine in various areas such as politics, economics, trade, energy, and security. However, there is still room for improvement in the Partnership, and this article offers several recommendations for future enhancements.

Firstly, the EU could provide more financial and technical support to Ukraine. Ukraine is a significant partner for the EU, and its success is in the EU's interest. Therefore, the EU should continue to support Ukraine's efforts to implement the necessary reforms and address the challenges it faces, such as corruption and weak institutions. The EU should also provide technical assistance to help Ukraine enhance its economic and social infrastructure, such as improving its transport networks, telecommunications, and education systems.

Secondly, the EU should work more closely with Ukraine to promote regional stability and resolve conflicts in the region. The ongoing war in Ukraine is a major challenge for both Ukraine and the EU. Therefore, the EU should continue to support Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity and work towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The EU could also provide more support to Ukraine's efforts to reform its security sector and promote confidence-building measures between Ukraine and its neighboring countries.

Thirdly, the EU could enhance energy cooperation with Ukraine. Ukraine is a crucial transit country for Russian gas exports to Europe, and the EU has a significant interest in diversifying its energy sources.

Therefore, the EU could support Ukraine's efforts to modernize its gas transit infrastructure and promote the development of alternative energy sources. The EU could also assist Ukraine in increasing its energy efficiency and promoting renewable energy sources.

Finally, the EU could deepen people-to-people contacts between Ukraine and EU member states. The EU could promote cultural and educational exchanges, which could help to build stronger ties between the two regions. The EU could also facilitate visa-free travel between Ukraine and the EU and provide more support to Ukrainian civil society organizations, which play a crucial role in promoting democratic values and human rights.

In conclusion, the EU-Ukraine Partnership is a crucial aspect of the CFSP, and there is still much that can be done to enhance it further. By providing more financial and technical support to Ukraine, working closely to promote regional stability, enhancing energy cooperation, and deepening people-to-people contacts, the EU can strengthen its partnership with Ukraine and promote stability, security, and prosperity in the wider region.

#### Хакімова В. Партнерство ЄС-України в контексті Спільної Зовнішньої Політики та Політики Безпеки: критичний огляд

У статті подано комплексний аналіз партнерства між Європейським Союзом (ЄС) та Україною в контексті Спільної зовнішньої політики та політики безпеки (СЗПБ). Аналіз ґрунтується на ретельному огляді відповідної літератури, офіційних документів та експертних висновків і має на меті визначити основні проблеми та досягнення партнерства та запропонувати рекомендації щодо його подальшого розвитку.

Автор наголошує на успіхах і проблемах партнерства між Україною та ЄС у таких сферах, як політична співпраця, економічна інтеграція та безпекова співпраця. Хоча підтримка ЄС суверенітету та територіальної цілісності України була ключовим фактором успіху партнерства, стаття також висвітлює кілька обмежень і недоліків партнерства. Серед них повільний темп реформ в Україні, вплив корупції на розвиток країни та обмежені важелі впливу ЄС на дії Росії.

Щоб подолати ці виклики, у статті пропонуються рекомендації щодо зміцнення партнерства між Україною та ЄС, включаючи глибшу взаємодію в таких сферах, як енергетична безпека, права людини та верховенство права, а також більш активний підхід до підтримки демократичного розвитку України та реформуванню. Аналіз показує, що ці кроки є вирішальними для забезпечення подальшої актуальності та ефективності партнерства, а також для підтримки шляху України до європейської інтеграції та демократичної консолідації.

Загалом ця стаття містить критичну та деталізовану оцінку партнерства між ЄС та Україною в контексті СЗППБ, пропонуючи важливу інформацію для науковців, політиків і практиків у сферах зовнішньої політики ЄС, української політики та міжнародних відносин.

**Ключові слова:** Європейський Союз, Україна, Спільна зовнішня та безпекова політика, Угода про асоціацію, дипломатія, партнерство

## **Bibliography:**

- 1. Газізуллін І.Ф., Гончар М. М., Коломієць О. В. Східне партнерство ЄС: додаткові можливості для євроінтеграції України / ред. В. Мартинюка. Київ : Агентство "Україна", 2009. 84 с.
- 2. Коломієць О., Золкіна М., Головньов Д. Лісабонський Договір: аналіз впливу на відносини між ЄС та Україною у міжнародній, безпековій та оборонній політиці. Київ : Міжнар. Фонду «ВІДРО-ДЖЕННЯ», 2011. 90 с.
- 3. Копійка В. В., Шинкаренко Т. І. Європейський Союз: заснування і етапи становлення : навчальний посібник для студ. вищ. навч. закл. : навч. посіб. Київ : ІнЮре, 2001. 448 с.
- 4. Лісабонські консолідовані договори про Європейський союз і функціонування Європейського Союзу / пер.та ред. В. Муравйов. Київ : Юрінком Інтер, 2011.
- 5. Пошедін О. І. Воєнна безпека України в контексті співробітництва з Європейським Союзом. *Вісник НАДУ.* 2014. № 3. С. 53–59.
- 6. Шаповалова О. I. Європейський Союз Україна: межі нормативної сили. *International Review*. 2010. № 2(14). С. 4–10.
- 7. Шнирков О. І. Європейський Союз у глобальному інноваційному просторі : монографія. Київ : ВПЦ "Київ. ун-т", 2008. 143 с.

- 8. Association agreement between the EU and Ukraine European / ed. by A. Zygierewicz. Brussels : European Parliamentary Research Service, 2020. 87 p. URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/ etudes/STUD/2020/642844/EPRS\_STU(2020)642844\_EN.pdf (дата звернення: 10.03.2023).
- 9. Bretherton C., Vogler J. The European Union as Global Actor. 2nd ed. London : Routledge, 2005. 269 p.
- 10. Common Foreign and Security Policy. *The European Commission's Service for Foreign Policy Instruments*. URL: https://fpi.ec.europa.eu/what-we-do/common-foreign-and-security-policy\_en (дата звернення: 15.03.2023).
- Pashakhanlou A. H. Comparing and Contrasting Classical Realism and Neorealism. *E-International Relations*. 2009. URL: https://www.e-ir.info/2009/07/23/comparing-and-contrasting-classical-realism-and-neo-realism/ (дата звернення: 12.03.2023).
- 12. Magone J. M. Contemporary European Politics: a Comparative Introduction. London : Taylor and Francis Group, 2010. 643 p.
- 13. Manners I. Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads. *Journal of European Public Policy.* 2006. Vol. 13, no. 2. P. 182–199.
- 14. Manners I. The Normative Ethics of the European Union. *International Affairs*. 2008. Vol. 84, no. 1. P. 45–60.
- 15. Marsh S., Mackenstein H. The International Relations of the European Union. London : Routledge, 2014. 328 p.
- THE EU-UKRAINE SECURITY PARTNERSHIP: STATUS AND PROSPECTS. Kyiv : Razumkov Centre, 2021. 69 p. URL: https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\_eu\_ukraine\_security.pdf (дата звернення 15.03.2023).
- 17. Record number of Ukrainians support joining EU, backing for NATO membership falls poll. *Reuters*. URL: https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/record-number-ukrainians-support-joining-eu-backing-nato-membership-falls-poll-2022-04-05/ (дата звернення 18.03.2023).
- 18. Smith M. E. Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: the Institutionalization of Cooperation. London : Cambridge University Press, 2004. 308 p.
- 19. The EU and Ukraine EUAM Ukraine. *EUAM Ukraine*. URL: https://www.euam-ukraine.eu/eu-and-euam/ (дата звернення 15.03.2023).

# References:

- 1. Hazizullin I.F., Honchar M.M., Kolomiiets O.V. (2009). *Skhidne partnerstvo YeS: dodatkovi mozhlyvosti dlia yevrointehratsii Ukrainy* [The Eastern Partnership of the EU: additional opportunities for the European integration of Ukraine]. & in. (red. Martyniuk V.). Kyiv: Ahentstvo "Ukraina" [in Ukrainian].
- 2. Kolomiiets O.V., Zolkina M.Yu., Holovnov D.V. (2011). *Lisabonskyi Dohovir: analiz vplyvu na vidnosyny mizh YeS ta Ukrainoiu u mizhnarodnii, bezpekovii ta oboronnii politytsi.* [The Lisbon Treaty: analysis of the impact on relations between the EU and Ukraine in international, security and defense policy] Kyiv: Mizhnarodnoho Fondu «VIDRODZHENNIA» [in Ukrainian].
- 3. Kopiika V., & T. Shynkarenko. (2001). Yevropeiskyi Soiuz: zasnuvannia i etapy stanovlennia [The European Union: foundation and stages of formation]: navchalnyi posibnyk dlia stud. vyshch. navch. zakl. Kyiv: Inlure [in Ukrainian].
- 4. Lisabonski konsolidovani dohovory pro Yevropeiskyi soiuz i funktsionuvannia Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu (2011) [Lisbon Consolidated Treaties on the European Union and the functioning of the European Union]. Pereklad i naukove redahuvannia: Muraviov V.I. Kyiv: Yurinkom Inter [in Ukrainian].
- 5. Poshedin O. I. (2014). Voienna bezpeka Ukrainy v konteksti spivrobitnytstva z Yevropeiskym Soiuzom [Military security of Ukraine in the context of cooperation with the European Union]. Visnyk NADU, (3), 53–59 [in Ukrainian].
- 6. Shapovalova O. I. (2010). Yevropeiskyi Soiuz Ukraina: mezhi normatyvnoi syly [European Union Ukraine: the limits of normative force]. International Review, 2(14), 4–10 [in Ukrainian].
- 7. Shnyrkov O. I. (2008). Yevropeiskyi Soiuz u hlobalnomu innovatsiinomu prostori [The European Union in the global innovation space]. Kyiv: Vydav.-polihraf. tsentr "Kyivskyi un-t" [in Ukrainian].
- Association agreement between the EU and Ukraine. (n.d.). Retrieved March 10, 2023, from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/642844/EPRS\_STU(2020) 642844\_EN.pdf
- 9. Bretherton, C., & Vogler, J. (2005). The European Union as a Global Actor. Routledge.
- 10. Common Foreign and Security Policy. The European Commission's Service for Foreign Policy Instruments. Retrieved March 15, 2023, from https://fpi.ec.europa.eu/what-we-do/ common-foreign-and-security-policy\_en.
- 11. Pashakhanlou, A. H. (2009). Comparing and Contrasting Classical Realism and Neorealism. Retrieved from https://www.e-ir.info/2009/07/23/comparing-and-contrasting-classical-realism-and-neo-realism/

- 12. Magone, J. M. (2010). Contemporary European Politics: a Comparative Introduction. Taylor and Francis Group.
- 13. Manners, I. (2006). Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads. Journal of European Public Policy, 13(2), 182–199.
- 14. Manners, I. (2008). The Normative Ethics of the European Union. International Affairs, 84(1), 45–60.
- 15. Marsh, S., & Mackenstein, H. (2014). The International Relations of the European Union. Routledge.
- 16. Razumkov Centre. (2021). THE EU-UKRAINE SECURITY PARTNERSHIP: STATUS AND PROSPECTS. Kyiv. Retrieved March 15, 2023, from https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\_eu\_ukraine\_security.pdf
- 17. Reuters. (2022, April 5). Record number of Ukrainians support joining EU, backing for NATO membership falls poll. Retrieved March 18, 2023, from https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ record-number-ukrainians-support-joining-eu-backing-nato-membership-falls-poll-2022-04-05/)
- 18. Smith, M. E. (2004). Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation. Cambridge University Press.
- 19. The EU and Ukraine EUAM Ukraine. *EUAM Ukraine*. Retrieved March 15, 2023, from https://www.euam-ukraine.eu/eu-and-euam/

Стаття надійшла до редакції 28.03.2023 Стаття рекомендована до друку 10.04.2023